7: Hu E-5 (1937) 1941 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Ch'iang

000 # BELIEFS AND PRACTICES OF THE CH'IANG TRIBESMEN

(Ch'iang-tsu chih hsin-yang yü hsi-wei)

By Hu Chien-min

/Translated from the Chinese for Human Relations Area Files by John T. Ma/

Pien-chiang Yen-chiu Lun-ts'ung /Frontier Studies/, Chengtu, 1941, pp. 9-33.

[Title page]

7: Hu--i E-5 (1937) 1941 AE3 Sino Tibetan Border AE3
Ch'iang

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES OF THE CH'IANG TRIBESMEN

By Hu Chien-min

000

Page

Introduction 1

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang Tribesmen 2
1. The White Stone God and the Sacred Forest. ... 3
2. Gods on the Roof and Inside the Stone House... 7
3. Local Gods..... 10

II. The Ch'iang Sorcerer -- Tuan-kung..... 14

III. Examples of the Ch'iang Practices: Curing Diseases, Expelling Bad Luck, Exorcism and Fecundity Rites, Divination, Special Programs in the Capping Ceremony and Funeral Ceremony of the Ch'iang, Praying for Rain..... 18

Conclusion..... 35

/9/ Introduction

114 In June, 1937, this writer went to northwestern Szechuan to study frontier tribes and, owing to my guide's familiarity with the local situation, visited all the principal Ch'iang areas in the three districts of Wen-ch'uan, Mao-hsien, and Li-fan. We went through numerous narrow passages and experienced many difficulties and
101 dangers. While in Wen-ch'uan, it happened that Magistrate Lin Chien-chao was making a new map of the district, and following the directions in his new map, we visited all Ch'iang outposts on the right bank of the Min River. We also went to the territory of the Wa-shih chieftain on the left bank of the river. In Mao-hsien, we went east across the T'u-ti Range to T'u-men and then moved north to the Wei-men-kuan watercourse, visiting all the outposts in that area. Then along the western bank of the Min River, we proceeded northward to Liang-ho-k'ou and thence turned into the valley of the Hei-shui River to survey the district of San-ch'i-ao. We returned to Wei-chou and entered the area of Li-fan, visiting villages along both sides of the Tsa-ku-nao River up to P'u-ch'i-kou on the border of the Ch'iang and the Jung territories. We had planned to choose Hsing-shang-chai in Li-fan and Lo-pu-chai in Wen-ch'uan as areas of intensive study. However, first because of the Lu-kou-ch'iao Incident and then because of the intensification of the situation in Shanghai, we were compelled to give up our plan and return home. Thus, our work fell short of complete success, a fact which we still regret. The material we have collected can be divided into several chapters dealing with geographical distribution, material life, social system, and beliefs and practices. On account of the limitation of time, we can, after a brief preparation, present to ethnographers only the part dealing with beliefs and practices in the hope of receiving instructive criticism from them.

177 Generally speaking, the material life and the social system are
527 the more Sinicized aspects of the Ch'iang culture. (Because of their nearness to each other, some Ch'iang tribesmen were also influenced by the Fan and the Chia-jung tribes.) As to their spiritual culture, although they have lost or forgot part of it, yet in some remote areas, we can still find a general picture of it. During the New Year, on festival days, and at the time of wedding, funeral, and other ceremonies, all the cultural treasures of the Ch'iang -- such as sorcery, rites, historical legends, tribal mythology, songs and dances, -- are still enthusiastically performed again and again, often under the

177 direction of their sorcerers and elders. This, this writer believes, is
527 the most valuable part of the Ch'iang culture.

/10/ Although the material life and the social system of the Ch'iang are more Sinicized, yet we can still find in them some characteristics of the Ch'iang culture. The Ch'iang tribesmen are now
233 mostly farmers, but they have not yet abandoned the habit of "shep-
241 herds". It is said that before the Communists' invasion, their pastoral economy was often more important than their agriculture. Judging from the fact that the Ch'iang tribesmen now remain both pastoral and agricultural, we may say that the statement in history books that the Ch'iang tribesmen were either aborigines or immigrants is reliable
361 They have not changed the custom of "living beside a hill and build-
565 ing houses with stones," nor have they changed their anarchic and classless social order, if this is what is meant by the "non-existence
551 of king-subject and superior-inferior relationships." As to the assertion that "they have no definite family names, some use their father's given names and mother's surnames as their family names," it is also attested by the names of ruined places which were derived from fam-
592 ily names, and by the way they adopt their individual names. Economically, the Ch'iang obviously have reached the stage of having family units. Yet, from the standpoint of their custom of working together and their spirit of mutual concern, they retain some habits of the clan age. Also, according to the marriage code, the clan is
582 still a unit in exogamy. (People of the same clan are not allowed to marry each other.)

Nowadays a Ch'iang village is no longer identical with a clan.
621 There are several different clans in almost every village. (It is said that before the Manchus conquered Ching-ch'uan, there were still some villages with only one clan.) However, each village has its specific local god, sorcerers, and festival activities. This is due to the fact that the traditional culture has not changed although the composition of the village population has. There are many cases like this in anthropology. Now let us take a look at the content of the cultural heritage of the Ch'iang tribesmen.

I. Analysis of the Gods Worshiped by the Ch'iang

The Ch'iang are a ghost-and god-worshiping people. They be-
776 lieve that there are gods everywhere, such as family gods, local gods, and the individual or local guardian gods. If divided according to their nature, there are good gods and evil spirits, if classified in

776 accordance with their appearance, they may be the images we see in a dream, the shape of a particular thing, or without any shape at all. The corner of the clothes, the dirt on the human body, the air we exhale, insects, fallen leaves, any animal, or any man-made article can all represent gods. In a word, the Ch'iang beliefs remain in the stage of animsim and fetishism. Some say that the Ch'iang beliefs have reached the stage of monotheism. (1) This

1. T. Torrance, "The Basic Spiritual Conceptions of the Religion of the Ch'iang," (Lecture delivered to the West China Border Research Society, May 12, 1924). In this article, the author considers the Ch'iang as a monotheistic people like the Jews and denies that the Ch'iang have animism.

view is not correct. Moreover, the fact that the Ch'iang have sorcerers and sorcery fits into this kind of beliefs. If there were no such beliefs, the Ch'iang sorcerers and sorcery would have no reason for their existence. The so-called witchcraft religion is the general term for this kind of beliefs and sorcery. There are numerous examples like this among primitive peoples of the world.

1. The White Stone God and the Sacred Forest

[212] The Ch'iang tribesmen have only a spoken language but no
776 written one. Therefore, so far as their past is concerned, we have
773 to search for it among their folk songs, stories, and legends. The origin of the beliefs in the White Stone God and the Sacred Forest can also be found in their legends and folk songs. According to legends, the Ch'iang once had a great migration, in which they were scattered in all directions. A group of them, after having settled down, met a rival tribe called "Ko-jen" (2) who were dumb but

2. "Ko" is a phonetic transcription. The Ch'iang's victory over the Ko-jen was a crucial event in their national regeneration. So, up to now, the Ch'iang are still very happy to talk about it. It is said that the physiological traits of the Ko tribesmen are: big and hard bones; high eyebrow bones; a high forehead; teeth as big as a thumb; a very thick skull; a very short neck; hairs as

776
773

dark and thick as a horse's mane; eyes always looking up and unable to look horizontally which can be done only by bowing the head; vertical eyes; and a tail which indicates the approaching of death by its gradual withering. From the social and cultural point of view, the Ko tribesmen raised no cattle; knew how to sow but were not good at reaping; ate fruits, grass and roots; took rain and dew for drink; did not know how to make fire by striking stones (they tried to learn it from the Ch'iang but failed); had no spirit of cooperation; lived in caves; and, after death, were buried in bottomless stone coffins. It is difficult to determine what race the Ko were. We can only preserve their legends and wait for the investigation later by scholars.

strong. The Ch'iang were afraid of them and were thinking of running away from them. Fortunately, in their dreams, the Ch'iang received from a god a revelation which showed them how to fight the war. The Ch'iang followed the god's direction and annihilated the Ko tribe. The method revealed by the god to defeat the Ko was quite simple, that is, first using hard clubs and then white stones. The Ko tribe was annihilated and the Ch'iang were then able to live happily in peace. So the people gave cheers such as "We are fine, we are happy, we are strong..." The leader of the Ch'iang was afraid that the people might fall into the abyss of "dying of peace and pleasure" and suggested to repay the god for his blessings so as to show their gratitude to the source of their happiness and also to warn the people of their danger. However, the people knew only that their ancestors received a revelation from the god. /11/ They did not know what god it was, nor did they know how the god looked like. So they said, "We call the god but the god cannot answer. What should we call the god?" Their leader asked, "What weapons did our ancestors use to defeat the Ko?" The people answered, "With hard clubs and white stones we beat the Ko." The leader said, "Since we beat the Ko with white stones, we should return our thanks to the white stones." All the people agreed and each brought back a white stone. The leader then said, "The white stone is our god. From now on whenever you have troubles or difficulties, you may pray to

776 the White Stone God. The god, to whom the Ch'iang wanted to
773 give thanks, was the one who directed them to defeat the Ko. Since the god had no concrete appearance, they used the white stone as a symbol. After all, the white stone was the weapon with which they defeated the enemies at the god's direction. Here we see that the Ch'iang worship of the white stone has a profound meaning and an historical basis.

776 The Ch'iang people now use the term "White Stone God," or rho-pi-tzé. It seems as if they regard the white stone as god. Actually, the white stone is only a symbol of god, and not a god by itself. What we should like to find out is what god it was who helped the Ch'iang defeat the Ko. The legends give no explanation of such a god. As the Ch'iang people, having met the god only in dreams, did not know while awake who the god was, so they said, "He is the protector; but who is he?" And they also said, "He is God." Here we see the people actually did not know what god he was. However, there is no doubt that the Ch'iang tribesmen have always regarded this god as their guardian deity ever since their victory over the Ko. (3) /The figure 3 for Note 3 is missing in the text. I presume this is the logical place for it. -- translator's note./

3. Now in Li-fan hsien, at Hou-yu-k'u-shang-san-li, among the nine gods on the roof of the Ch'iang, one is the god of directing war called Ta-la. According to what is said, this is the god who directed the victorious war against the Ko. This saying, this writer suspects, is a later addition, for different gods are worshiped on the roofs in different places but there is only one legend of the Ch'iang like this.

According to legends, the Ch'iang once abandoned their worship of the white stones. This was the period when "men did not worship gods and gods did not care for men." The Ch'iang then returned to their worship of the Forest God, or mei-be-tzé. (It is said that before they worshiped the White Stone God, the Ch'iang worshiped this god.)
[782] There was a definite code of ceremony--sacrificing a lamb, spreading its blood, but prohibiting the eating of its flesh which was either burned to ashes or thrown away in the wilderness. They also composed a standard version of benediction. Sacrifice was held in the Sacred Forest regardless of the weather. Later they built a public temple called wa-gi.

776 The Ch'iang legends consider this Forest God extremely potent. He must be worshiped with a lamb and a sacrificial service. He could make barren those lands where he was not worshiped, and he could make people sick. Therefore the Ch'iang everywhere worshipped the Forest God. Once he told the Ch'iang in a dream, explaining to them his position among gods. He said, "I am not the only god. Besides me, there is the God of Heaven, mei-da-be." People asked, "Who is the God of Heaven and where to worship him?" He answered, "The white stone you worshiped at the top of your house represents the God of Heaven." People asked, "We have known that the white stone represents the God of Heaven. But where should be the place of the white stone in the Sacred Grove?" He answered, "Behind the highest temple, erect a white stone on a stone seat to represent the God of Heaven. Inside the temple, in a niche in the wall, place a white stone to represent the God of Earth. (Different names are used in different places.) Behind the stove in the temple, erect a white stone to represent the God of Fire, mün-kuei-tzé. During the service day, branches of cypress must be burned and a piece of fir wood is planted behind the God of Heaven....." This dialogue has now become the code of ceremony of the Ch'iang. At the same time, the passage explains that white stones may represent different kinds of gods. But the white stone at the top of the house represents the God of Heaven. The Ch'iang's perplexity about this white stone is now clarified.

From the aforesaid, we can see the meaning of the white stone in the Ch'iang beliefs. What the Ch'iang worship, however, are not the white stones themselves but the Gods of Heaven, Earth, Forest, and Fire. The Ch'iang perhaps have had this kind of belief for a considerably long period of time. One of the Ch'iang's ancient folk songs says: (4)

539 4. Words of the entire song are as follows:
"The greatest are Heaven and Earth,
Next to them is the Sacred Forest:
Wild beasts beating stones on the cliff,
Fir trees and birch trees,
Grasses flourishing, lakes deep,
Mountains high, the land big,
Remember, remember! "
This is one of the songs sung by the Ch'iang at Shang-shui-li in Wen-ch'uan after sacrificing a

539 lamb to the Sacred Forest for the New Year celebration on the first day of the tenth month /of the lunar calendar./

"The greatest are Heaven and Earth,
/12/ Next to them is the Sacred Forest."

2. Gods on the Roof and Inside the Stone House.

776 [342] The top of a Ch'iang house is like the roof garden of a Western house. In the center is an agricultural and pastoral workshop. Along the walls are places for worshiping gods. There are gods on every roof of a Ch'iang house, but the number of gods on each roof may be different. For example, at Lo-pu-chai in Wen-ch'uan hsien, there are on the roof of a Ch'iang house five gods, represented by five pieces of white stones.

776 [778]

1) Mo-pǐ-tzé	God of Heaven
2) Rü-bü-tzè	God of Earth
3) Tzǔk-si	God of Mountains (God who sustains the earth)
4) Sǐ	Goddess of Mountains
5) Si-wa	Lord Kuan.

In Li-fan, the Ch'iang at Hou-erh-k'u and Shang-san-li worship nine gods on their roofs:

1) A-pä-mǔbe-da	God who created Heaven and Earth.
2) Rǔbe-we-ngi-tzè	Goddess of Earth.
3) Dsu-rǔ-pee	God of Redeeming Vows and Opening Roads.
4) Abe-shi-gai-ki	God of Mountains (Different Mountain Gods in different places).
5) Bȯ-wa-tzè	God of Building Houses.
6) Ta-lȧ	God of Directing War (who showed the Ch'iang the way to defeat the Ko.)
7) Shgee	Door God of Heaven (who will take care of everything.)
8) Mǔ-gee	The Wise Man in the Ch'iang

legends, who first understood and represented the will of God to lead the Ch'iang to victory.

9) Hã-hä-be — God of Winter Preservation or God of the Completion of Four Seasons.

In some places, there are only three or four white stones on the roof, which of course, mean that there are only three or four gods. From the Ch'iang legends, we know the most important god on the roof is probably the white stone which represents the God of Heaven. The Ch'iang nowadays all recognize that the place to offer public sacrifice to the White Stone God is in the Sacred Forest and that the place for private sacrifice is on the roof. According to the aforesaid origin of the white stone cult, the white stones both on the roof and in the Sacred Forest represent the God of Heaven. Others occupy perhaps only secondary positions. Therefore, people in different villages may freely increase or reduce their number.

Inside their houses, the Ch'iang probably everywhere worship a total of twelve gods. But there are quite some differences in the names of those gods in different places as well as in the pronunciation of those names. For instance, according to the Great Tuan-kung Chu of Hsing-shang-chai in Li-fan, they are:

1) Bo-jé — The Ancestor of Mankind.
2) Yei-tzé — God of Fortune
3) Hi-tu-tzé — God of Sheep.
/13/ 4) Htié-to — God of Showing the Way to Heaven (or God of Revelation.)
5) Tchŭ-tso-péi-tchei — God of Eliminating Poison in the Water Jar.
6) Mó-kuei-tzé — God of Fire (Mo-kuei-tze, Wei-tze or Parents' Souls, and Lei-tze or God of Fuel are the three Gods who occupy a triangular position which is originally the simplest stove built with three

776

	stones by the Ch'iang. Besides, there is a god called Ko-tchei-tze, or God of Shading the Fire, which means the wooden board above the stove used for shading the flame.)
7) Ü-mŭ	Ancestors (ancestors of the family.)
8) Tsee-tze	God of Mountains (guaranteeing against collapse or fall.)
9) Ngi-yụ	God of the Central Pillar.
10) Lu-ngä	Door God.
11) Wei-ko-tzé	God of Cattle (God of the Ranch).
12) Rŭ-gee-tzé	God of Farm Boundary.

The Ch'iang in Wen-ch'uan also worship twelve gods. But at Lo-pu-chai there are, among the twelve gods, Yu-mo-tze, or God of Granary; H chu tchi, or God of Controlling Ghosts; Mie, a God Ruling over Men; and Si, a God Ruling over Women. (At Ts'u-t'u-chai in Wen-ch'uan, the God of Men is called Ti-pre and the God of Women, Mia-wei.) There are no Gods of Mountains, Farm Boundary, Cattle, and Eliminating Poison in the Water Jar. A few other points also deserve our attention. In many places where there is no God of Sheep, there is often a Buddha of the King of Cows. The housewife is in charge of the sacrifice to the God of Granary. The Door God is believed to be Chiang Tzu-ya (just like Lord Kuan on the roof). In some places (such as western Mao-hsien) they have forgotten the twelve gods except the Ancestors, the Kitchen God, the Land God, the God of Fortune, and Lord Heaven. Those who are more Sinicized will place the spirit tablets of Heaven, Earth, Emperor, Parents and Teachers right inside the front door. The twelve gods in the house seem to represent the traditional beliefs of the Ch'iang particularly on the following four points:

(1) Apart from the family ancestors, there are ancestors of mankind.
(2) The God of Fire and those gods associated with him.
(3) The God of Men and the God of Women. (This may be transformed from either the guardian god of individuals or the sexual totem.)

776 (4) Women in charge of the sacrifice to the God of Granary. (This may be considered as a custom derived from women's association with agriculture.)

3. Local Gods

We have mentioned before that in the old times each clan of the Ch'iang tribesmen lived in a village of their own. Nowadays a Ch'iang village is not necessarily confined to a clan. However, in each locality there are local gods, sorcerers and ceremonies. It is to be noted that the local gods can be classified into male and female deities, or good and evil spirits. Because of the threats and blessings of those gods, sorcerers become an indispensable profession. Based upon our survey, we select among the good and evil gods of different localities the following examples so as to give a general picture of them.

/14/ Examples of good gods:

La-hua-chai	Be-mée-tzé	God of the Master /of the House/.
Hua-peng-chai	Wa-ba-tzé	God of City Wall.
Wen-shan-chai	Ü-nga-tzé	God of Peacock.
Tseng-t'ou-shang-chai	Shi-gŭ-tzé	God of Iron Mountain.
Tseng-t'ou-chung-chai	Lü-wa-tzé	God of Communication.
Tseng-t'ou-hsia-chai	Sha-bo-tzé	God of Piled Stones (stones piled together).
Jo-ta-chai	Mŭ-be-tzé	God of Pine Trees. (sacrifices held jointly with Chia-shan-chai and Hsi-shan-chai.)
Shui-t'ien-chai	H-kuei-dee-tze	God of the Carried-back Cock. (Joint sacrifice with Ch'i-li-chai.)
Kan-ch'i-chai	Ru-bou-tze	God of Deep Cliff.

776 Each local god has a legend of his origin. Take the following examples:

773 The Legend of the Origin of the Local God in Shui-t'ien-chai and Ch'i-li-chai--A man from Shui-t'ien-chai and another from Ch'i-li-chai worked together as carriers. One day, passing Yu-ch'i (the Ch'iang call Yu-ch'i "Hunsh"), on their way home, the two felt their burden very heavy. As they were grumbling, they heard suddenly

776
773 the crowing of a cock. They turned their heads and saw a white cock. But as they walked back to look at it closely, they found that it was a white stone. So they left it alone and went away. They did not get far before they heard again the crowing. So they turned back again, and again saw the white stone. Thus they walked back and forth several times. Finally, they prayed to the white stone, "White stone, if you are a god, please lighten our burden. We are willing to carry you back home." Then they carried the stone back and felt their burden very light indeed. When they reached the suspension rope /bridge/ at T'ung-hua-ch'ang (the Ch'iang call it Wa dee), they tried in vain several times to tie the stone on the rope. Suddenly, they saw the white stone turn into a cock that flew and alighted on the slope at Shui-t'ien-chai, and there became again a white stone. But, still it looked like a cock from a distance. The two told their fellow villagers about it. They were all surprised and so worshiped it as a god.

The Legend of the Origin of the Local God at Chia-shan, Jo-ta, and Hsi-shan--In ancient times, in the land of "gi-da", there lived six or seven clans (rŭglülŭgo; rorobe; wȧgo, now Chia-shan; jio-da, now Jo-ta; yar-ba-da; thĭ-ru-be; i-zu̯-wȧ-be) in close neighborhood. Pine trees flourished there and people chopped down their branches at random. Therefore, the God of Pine Trees told the villagers in their dreams, "I am the God of Pine Trees. If you chop down pine trees carelessly, I will punish you." Having had this dream, the people found themselves in a predicament. They asked among themselves where their source of income would be if they did not chop down trees. There were so many pine trees, and they had no way to know which trees belonged to the God. Therefore, those who did not believe in the God still went to the mountains to chop down trees. But from time to time, unfortunate accidents happened to them. One year after the fall harvest, an old man was seen walking to and fro in the forest and then suddenly disappeared. People believed that the God of Trees had come. So they made a vow and asked the tuan-kung /priest/ to offer sacrifice in the temple of the Sacred Forest. During the sacrificial ceremony, while the programs were going on, a participant of the ceremony was suddenly seized with a frenzy and declared, "I am working for God. You do not know where the God's tree is, but I know it." Then he took a large flag and climbed up a big tree. He reached the top of the tree, planted the flag on the top, and came down safely to the ground. He also declared that from now on sacrifice to the God of Trees should be held every year so that their land

776
773 would be safe and peaceful. Not long afterwards, the man's frenzy /15/ disappeared and he was himself again. People were in sympathy with him and gave him a lamb's kidney and a bottle of oil used in the sacrifice.

The Legend of the Origin of the Local God in Kan-ch'i--Kan-ch'i-chai originally had a temple of the King of Chickens (Yu-i-nga). It was destroyed by mountain torrents and not restored because of the lack of funds. The Chicken King was therefore moved to the backyard of the Temple of King Yu at Wen-shan-chai in T'ung-hua. People in Kan-ch'i still went there to pray and sacrifice every year, but they felt that the Chicken King was no longer efficacious. A patient who also felt that the Chicken King no longer had protective power suggested that the sacrifice be stopped. However, a devoted worshiper insisted that the Chicken King was still effective. He went alone to the God of the Chicken King at Wen-shan and prayed for the above mentioned patient, saying: "You are our original local god. The patient in our village hopes that you will still protect him!" The night after his return from praying he and the patient received a revelation from the God of the Chicken King in their dreams. The god said, "I am now no longer your god. I can protect you temporarily. The name of your god is ru-bou-tze. He will arrive here on the mountain in the eighth month of the next year. Under a rock there is water. He will come out of the water." The next morning the two told each other of their dreams and went together to find the spot which evidently was there. Later, the patient recovered. The harvest that year was very rich. The two could not forget what the god had revealed to them in the dreams and often walked to and fro beside the water even before the coming of the eighth month in the hope of seeing the arrival of the god. For a long time they did not see anything. One day they again heard the god say to them in a dream, "Ru-bou-tze, your god, has been drifting on the water for half a month!" Waking up, they asked a waterside wood-cutter about it. The wood-cutter said, "There has been indeed a piece of wood floating on the water for a long time and I could not catch it." The next day the two got a piece of wood beside the river and suspected that it was the god. But the wood was rotten. Some spectators suggested to have it cut and burned, but the two said that since they had dreamed about it, it should not be treated carelessly. That night they got another dream from the god. The god said, "I am in the wood. Peel off the rotten wood outside and you will see my body." They did so the next day and got an image of the god. Now people in Kan-ch'i substitute this god for the Sacred Forest, and they no longer erect a white stone.

Examples of Evil Gods:

776 Hsing-shang-na-wa ts'un	Li-zé-sié	God of Strange Vines in the Corners of a Farm.
Ah-t'i-hua	Kabre-po-sié	God of Bushes under the Rock.
Hua-peng and La-heh chai's	La-ge-po-sié	God of Strange Forests in the Corners of the Land.
Li-mu-chi and Chi-erh-wa chai's	Yi-ta-sié	God of a Strange Stone Resembling a Chicken Pecking Food.
Ma-peng-chai	Ba-ta-sié	Strange God above the Dam.
Mu-erh-ta	Dse-tche-ba-sié	God of Thorny Dam.
Chai-liu-chai	Hngi-gee-po-sié	God of Old Red Trees.
Mu-kung-chai	Dza-gee-kua-sié	Strange God of Broken House Foundation.
Chiu-tza-chai	Man-dio-sié	God of Cliff.
Li-fan (Pao-hsien)	Tsai-zé-tcha-ti sié	God of Drinking Wine and Eating Meat.
T'ung-hua	Tso-ge-po sié	God of Gleditschia Sinensis.
K'ung-ti-p'ing	Tcha-se ra-ku-cha sié	God of Stone Bridge and Rugged Cliff.
Tseng-t'ou-shang-chai	Sagta-lagbo sié	God of the Slope at the End of the Outpost.
Tseng-t'ou-chung-chai	Tsa-tshi-po sié	God of Thorns.
/16/		
Tseng-t'ou-hsia-chai	Ko-bo-tsi-bo sié	God of Stone Piles and Forests.
Chu-erh-shan-chai	Dsü-be-dá sié	God under a Mud Pit.

776 796 Every year, from the middle of the first month to the end of the second month, the Ch'iang tribesmen asked the tuan-kung to exorcise the evil gods on the four days of the boar, dog, dragon, and horse. Mixing the flour of buckwheat or oats with the water used for washing the faces of the whole family, they make a plateful of images of ghosts and devils. Then mixing wheat flour with clean water, they make another plateful of sacrificial offerings to good gods. Wearing a monkey-skin hat, striking a spade, burning pine branches, and chanting the liturgies, the tuan-kung calls on good and bad spirits as he performs his exorcism. (Based upon the oral statements of Tuan-kung Chu of Hsing-shang-chai.)

• • • • •

Since the Ch'iang have not yet passed the stage of animism, they believe there are ghosts and gods everywhere. Apart from what has been mentioned before, there are mountain peak gods at the tops of mountains, (pi-rü-tzé); gods of masculine and feminine mountains, (sü-pé-tzé); fortress gods on fortresses, (po-tzé); and local gods in every outpost. Yei-bo is the devil that causes all diseases. The Poison Devil is called is-dụ. One who has the Poison Devil in him or her is called Devil Old Woman (dụ-ma) if she is an old woman, Devil Girl (dụ-tchi) if a young girl, and Devil Man (dụ-tze) if he is a man. Besides, all tribal heroes and those who have done virtuous and meritorious deeds for the people are worshiped as gods. 174

II. The Ch'iang Sorcerer--Tuan-kung

One who has relations with all ghosts and gods is the tuan-kung. He himself has his special guardian god. All magic instruments of the tuan-kung have active powers. If we want to have a deep understanding of the beliefs of the Ch'iang, it is necessary to study the tuan-kung. 791

According to their legends, the Ch'iang lost a considerable portion of their traditional culture during the period of exile. Even their original belief in the Sacred Forest was restored only after their victory over the Ko tribesmen. After the restoration of their belief in the Sacred Forest, sacrificial ceremonies were inaugurated by outstanding elders. Also, prayers were collected and edited. A committee of priests was organized with its members in charge of different aspects of the sacrifice. After many years, the rites of sacrifice were slightly changed, and the chief priest who read the prayer became tuan-kung. All religious services, exorcism, treatment of illness, delivery from poverty, as well as capping, wedding, and funeral ceremonies were done by the tuan-kung.

During the period when there were only priests, the clothing of the priests was the same as that of the common people. Since the advent of the tuan-kung, there were special attirement and various magic instruments. 791 292

The tuan-kung wears a white skirt (jar-pü), and his topcoat may be a sheep-skin vest or an ordinary garment. It is the same all over Wen-ch'uan and Li-fan. But in Mao-hsien, along Lo-ta-ku, Shui-mu-kou, Shen-ch'ien-san-kou, and, T'a-hua-san-chai, all tuan-kung wear leopard skin. Besides, in Li-fan there are some special clothes of other styles.

791
773 The reason why the tuan-kung wears a monkey-skin hat(jar-tă), worships a monkey-headed old master, and beats a sheepskin drum (i-bou) is as follows: -- According to legends, the tuan-kung, having obtained sacred books, took a rest on his way home and fell asleep. At that moment a white sheep came and ate up the sacred books. When he woke up and did not see the books, he realized that they were already in the sheep's stomach. Unable to find a way out, he cried. Then came a gold-striped monkey who asked the tuan-kung why he cried. The tuan-kung told the monkey what had happened. The monkey said, "You can buy this white sheep, eat up its meat alone by yourself and make a drum with its skin. Every time you beat the drum, you will recall one sentence in the sacred books."/17/ The tuan-kung did as he was told and remembered indeed all the words in the sacred books. Later, the tuan-kung again wept because of his shortage of traveling expenses. The gold-striped monkey came again and led him home. After the death of the monkey, the tuan-kung, to show his gratitude to the monkey, made a hat with the monkey's skin, and using the monkey's tail, he made three pointed corners on the hat: from left to right, the first corner was called pi-ngi-shăr (meaning a clear distinction between black and white); the second
778 was called mo-bi (heaven); and the third ru-bu (earth). Then he
791 wrapped the monkey's head in paper and worshiped it (adding one more wrapping of white paper after each sacrifice) and called it Old Master (abe-tcha-h-kou).

[292] When the tuan-kung is sacrificing to the gods or redeeming a vow, he wears the monkey-skin hat. But in exorcising evils, he wears a kind of hat made of bamboo, pasted with a five-colored paper. It is called tan-tsu. In many places the tuan-kung wears the same kind of colored hat as the lama's. This may be the result of cross-cultural influence.

The sacred wand, or ser-ko-ta-bo, is one of the tuan-kung's important instruments. The length of the wand ranges from four to five feet. On its top is a figure of god made of iron or bronze. Under the god's head hangs a bronze bell. The end of the wand is a spear-head which can be thrust into the soil. This is used in exorcism, conveying souls, curing diseases, and war. An old tuan-kung also uses it in dancing to the god. But it cannot be used in sacrificing to the good gods.

The magic bell or sounding plate (shi-tsai-la) is made of bronze. But the hammer inside is made of cow's horn and is attached to an iron chain, which is connected with the handle. The latter is decorated

with a flowery cloth or animal hair. It has the same function as the sacred wand. 778 791

The tuan-kung has another kind of magic instrument called sze-ge-rá in the Ch'iang language. Using an animal's horn as trunk, it has many things hanging around it such as the wild beasts' bones, paws, and teeth, and old coins. It is used in sacrifice to chase away dirty things. It is also used in summoning souls. Similar to this are two other magic instruments. One is what the Ch'iang call wa-shar, which strings together all the paws, teeth, and bones of the birds and beasts on a leather belt and is used in exorcism and curing diseases. The other is a bundle of twenty to thirty copper plates carved with the devils' images and hung on an animal horn. It is used by the tuan-kung to cure insanity. Finally, the tuan-kung has another instrument called je-tchu-ka-pi, meaning holy water vase, which looks like a dragon's head and is used to hold water. The tuan-kung uses it for curing diseases.

The tuan-kung may be called the spiritual leader of the Ch'- 791
iang tribesmen. He remembers the Ch'iang history. He can communicate with ghosts and gods. He can control nature, summoning wind and rain, and multiplying cattle and grains. He is the physician who can cure all diseases. He also has the power to change even the vicissititudes of fortune. Such a person must have divine power. However, according to what is said, the tuan-kung nowadays is not as powerful as in the old days. Fifty to sixty years ago, the tuan-kung was still able to fly. Tying two wine cups on both sides of his chest, the tuan-kung could leap into the cloud and all his magic instruments would follow him and fly. It is said that once a tuan-kung forgot to take out his instruments in a flight. After his taking off, his sheepskin drum made big noises in the box. His home folks opened it, and out jumped the drum. As it did so, it knocked down a person and killed him. The drum and all the other instruments followed the tuan-kung to the destination. After the service, all the instruments flew back home except the drum. The tuan-kung knew there must have been some reason. He hurried back and investigated and found that an unfortunate accident had indeed happened. A strange thing like this is hard to believe when you first hear it. However, this is quite common in primitive theology. Didn't the Yukat people, who believed in sorcery, think that the sacred drum was the shaman's horse and that he could ride it to heaven?

The tuan-kung is a kind of magician. All magicians can

791 perform magic to kill people. The tuan-kung also has the same power. As the story goes, once upon a time there was a tuan-kung who after finishing his service, always had some ghosts carrying him back home in a sedan. But his home folks did not believe it. Once the tuan-kung was out performing a service and did not return while it was quite late. /18/ His two sons were sent to bring him home. Before they reached their destination, they learned that the tuan-kung was on his way home. So they turned back. But, trying to scare their father, they took the route to the top of the hill and threw dust and sand at him. The father thought he had met devils. So he picked a blade of grass and killed them. Arriving home, he found out that they were his two sons. He hurried back to try to find the blade but in vain. He looked around and found his two sons were actually cut in half. Such magic is called imitative magic in primitive theology.

The tuan-kung is produced by a teacher-disciple system. An old tuan-kung teaches a disciple. Upon his graduation, a ceremony for thanking the teacher, which the Ch'iang call pi-ge-tsa, will be held. Two items in the ceremony deserve our attention. One is the rite to thank the King of Poison. In curing diseases, the tuan-kung must worship the King of Poison, whom the Ch'iang call tze-gar-be. Its external form is only a leather bag, which is filled with various kinds of birds' feathers and animals' hairs. The bag was originally hung on a tree at P'i-tzu-chai. Later, the tuan-kung of Tiao-hua-san-chai moved this King of Poison into the fortress at Tiao-hua-chai to be kept by Tuan-kung Yu. Afterwards, there was once an earthquake. The fortress collapsed and the King of Poison was in distress. However, up to now, it is still kept in Tuan-kung Yu's place. In inviting the King of Poison, there are often dozens of tuan-kung chanting liturgies together. At that time, an echo is heard from the leather bag. A tuan-kung carries the bag on his back and the others all dance. As they reach the place of the ceremony, the tuan-kung chant the liturgies, burn pine branches, call on the gods of the various Ch'iang tribes, and then start to drink. They ask the Poison King to drink first, putting a bamboo stick into the mouth of the bag of the Poison King that actually can drink. After the performance of the rite, the people themselves then start to drink together. Another item in the program is a special performance by the tuan-kung's disciple. The hero of the teacher-honoring ceremony must thrust a knife through his right cheek into his mouth between the upper and lower teeth. Then, he uses a needle to pierce into the left cheek. On the needle

is hung a little flag made of fir wood. At the same time, disciples of other tuan-kung also participate in the performance. But they need only thrust the flag, not the knife /into the mouth/. Only the tuan-kung who has performed the teacher-honoring ceremony is qualified to wear the monkey-skin hat. 791

What is mentioned above gives a general idea of the origin of the tuan-kung, his attirements and instruments, and his magic power and instruction. As to the various functions of the Ch'iang tuan-kung, there are many and it takes a long time to enumerate them all. I shall discuss briefly a few cases in the following chapter dealing with examples of the Ch'iang practices, while a discussion of the details must wait until some other time.

III. Examples of the Ch'iang Practices

The Ch'iang tribesmen believe in ghosts and gods. They are sometimes lenient and sometimes severe. All diseases, poverty, famine, and other misfortunes have something to do with the attitude of those ghosts and gods. Whenever people meet such crises, they ask the tuan-kung for help. The tuan-kung is a person who, on the one hand, deals with ghosts and gods and, on the other hand, promotes the well-being of the people. He has the magic to cure diseases, to exorcise evil spirits, to eliminate plagues, to increase fecundity, and to do many other things. All the Ch'iang believe in such magic. The tuan-kung may also participate in capping, wedding, and funeral ceremonies. However, there are also many other important programs which have nothing to do with the tuan-kung. For instance, the act of praying for rain, which, it seems, ought to be a favorite job of the tuan-kung, is however entirely a practice of the people among the Ch'iang tribesmen. 776 791

Curing Diseases--People who believe in ghosts and gods consider all diseases as caused by their evil workings. Frazer, an English anthropologist, calls the disease which is caused by the evil influence of ghosts and gods "devil-disease." Even today in China there remains the habit of calling all diseases "devil-diseases." This is undoubtedly a custom handed down from ancient times. The Dyak people of Oceania say that diseases are caused by devils that possess the human body, by the attack of evil spirits, or by the capture of one's soul by the devil. The Savara people of India regard all diseases as the evil workings of their ancestors or other ghosts and gods. /19/ Besides, the Winnebago people of America, the 753

753 Uganda people of Africa, and many other primitive peoples are all of the same opinion. Like these peoples, the Ch'iang think that diseases are due to the evil influences of ghosts and gods. Since the source of illness is the ghosts and gods, it will be cured only if they are pacified. Therefore, it is unnecessary to take medicines. Deniker, a French anthropologist, remarks that since the primitive peoples believed that illness came from ghosts and gods, sorcerers and others like them were the earliest physicians. Only they could capture the devil inside the patient. (5) This exactly can also be said for the

5. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre, p. 285.

[756] [791] Ch'iang. Whenever a Ch'iang is sick, he asks a tuan-kung to perform a magic cure for him. The Ch'iang themselves agree that the major difference between the Ch'iang and the Han /Chinese/ is that the former, while ill, take no medicine.

All ghosts and gods can cause diseases, but each disease caused by them has its peculiar symptom.

The Poison Devil carries poison with finger nails or eyes. The Ch'iang call it mu-mi-kue-dze ku. Diseases caused by the Poison Devil are swelling of the stomach or stomach-ache, indigestion, discomfort of the whole body, and overeating without gaining weight.

Diseases caused by offending the good gods at home are all diseases in the upper part of the body -- head, eye, ear, nose, mouth, chest, back, shoulder, arm, and hand. They can be cured only by inviting a tuan-kung or by making a vow to pacify the god by the patient himself. Diseases caused by offending the Earth God --Hégni --are all diseases in the lower part of the body, such as paralyzed foot, swollen leg, or lameness. Light illness will disappear by itself. But, for serious illness, a tuan-kung must be invited.

Diseases caused by offending the Forest God are headache, thirst, fever, and chill. The patient must avoid eating and must kill no living things. Those taboos must be observed by the patient's whole family. Even their neighbors are not allowed to make noise with gong and drum. In this way, they believe the patient will recover. If the disease spreads to all family members, the whole family is not allowed to go outside to communicate with others. If they die, beggars will be hired to move them away.

Diseases caused by bad spirits have symptoms like languor, bad dreams, abnormal behavior, aching waist, ulcer, and nameless swelling. When a tuan-kung is invited to cure diseases, he uses a red cock and goes to the local god to perform a one-day service. Diseases

753 caused by the curse of other people can also be cured by asking the tuan-kung to perform service before the local god.

Besides, the Ch'iang believe that strange dreams can too cause diseases. A cow that drinks water or a woman who does not [844] avoid a shadow may also cause diseases. Born in an unlucky hour also can cause diseases (to the baby). If the source of the disease is unknown, the tuan-kung is requested to burn a sheep's thigh-bone with wormwood to discover it by divination. (The method of divination will be discussed elsewhere.)

755 The tuan-kung has different ways to cure diseases. The commonest is the method of supplication and sacrifice, called mŭ-tchi-shōō-tchi-sa-wōō, i.e., substituting sheep for human life. Make a human figure with straws and put on it the patient's hat, clothes and stockings. Take a little tea, flour, and beans; and put them into a paper bag. Next, send the straw man and a sheep together to the graveyard, where the sheep is killed and the straw man burned. Then the tuan-kung prays, saying that the sheep has died for the patient and that the straw man, representing the devil of disease, is riding the sheep to go far away. The patient's relatives are not allowed to eat the meat of this sheep. On his way back, the tuan-kung will call the soul for the patient. Putting a piece of paper on the ground, planting little flags on its corners to represent the ancestors, and placing beside the paper a few moon and sun cakes and in the middle, pine branches, buckwheat, oats, or other grains and lard, the tuan-kung chants the liturgy of calling the soul -- shōō-wo-dio-shuei -- and sees if there is any insect climbing onto the paper. If so, he considers that the soul has returned. (If there is no insect, he uses the lard to paste one on it.) Then, he wraps up the paper and puts it in a basket in which there are a hat, eggs, and other things. A relative of the patient carries the basket and follows the tuan-kung home. On his way back, the tuan-kung points at the hills and streams and calls the soul to return. Arriving at the door, the tuan-kung requests the Door God to open the door and asks, "Has the soul returned?" People inside answer, "Yes." Thus, three times he asks and three times, they answer. Then the tuan-kung sends the wrapped paper to the spirit tablet of the ancestors, /20/ as he beats the drum to declare the conclusion of the service. (If the patient is a female and a woman's long hair is found on the paper when the tuan-kung summons the soul, they regard it as the greatest success. And the patient is going to live several years more than his normal span of life.

755 Those families that are too poor to hire a tuan-kung may let the patient's own sons and daughters do the job of calling the soul. The method is simpler. Put an egg in a hat; take a bowl of rice; burn three sticks of incense and take also three unburnt sticks of incense. Planting the burnt sticks below the eaves from which water drops, the patient's sons and daughters would kneel down, call their parents, and pray, "Mountains are high, roads distant, and the source of water is far away. Soul, please come back, ..." They shout all the way through the door and go straight to the ancestral tablet. They then burn the incense and plant it in the stove. They ask the question "Has the soul returned?" the same way as the tuan-kung does. If the first attempt at calling the soul is not successful, they must call three times in a row at the second calling. If again there is no answer, they must call five times, or seven or nine times in a row. Before the calling becomes effective, the rice and egg cannot be touched and used. The egg represents the soul and must be respected. It must be hidden in the stove before the God of Fire and covered with ashes. After the calling is finished, the egg and rice will be given to the patient to eat.

If the disease is caused by the Poison Devil, the treatment is different. The Ch'iang call it mu-zee-ho-bu, meaning performing service by the tuan-kung at night, or inviting a night tuan-kung. For this, the tuan-kung must display his magic skill. During the evening, the tuan-kung sneaks into the house of the patient, sets up an altar, worships first the God of Curing Diseases (Si-mă), chants the liturgies, makes a straw man and a flag, and does all other preparations. At the same time, he builds a fire outdoors and cooks some food to attract animals. He asks a hunter to hide behind the house to see if there is any animal coming toward the fire. Ringing his magic bell, the tuan-kung carries the straw man and the flag outdoors and calls in all directions to warn the Poison Devil and the animals representing the Poison Devil. Finishing calling, he goes inside the house to perform service. He puts a rice pot, a spade, an iron chain, and a black and a white stone into the stove and burns them till they are red hot. He also prepares a bowl of clean water. He chants the liturgies and jumps over the pot. (He actually walks over the pot. But, because he walks so fast, it is called "jump.") The patient is also assisted to walk over the red pot twice. Then the tuan-kung winds the chain around the patient. He licks the spade with his tongue and holds in his mouth the two red-hot black and white stones. He throws each of the stones into the bowl of clean water and gives the water to the patient to drink. At this moment, if the hunter has seen an animal and has killed it, the tuan-kung will at once, while chanting the

755 liturgies, take the straw man and a sheep to the cross roads. He kills the sheep, spreads its blood on the straw man and the flag, and then burns them. This means that the straw man, representing the devil of illness, is sent away and that the sheep has died in the place of the patient. Everything in the belly of the sheep is thrown away. The tuan-kung takes the sheep's head, its hind legs, and its skin.

People do not invite a tuan-kung for a Poison Devil disease which is not very serious. They treat it only with the night-watching method called muzee-kue dze. The treatment begins by washing the patient's wound with water. Then, mix flour with that water to make a human figure. Cut a corner off the patient's clothes, take a head scarf and some hairs, and put them all on a plate. Build a fire outdoors and put the plate beside the fire. Also ask a hunter to wait behind the house to shoot the animal that happens to approach the fire. Even a valuable domesticated animal is not to be spared. An animal that has been shot must be traced and brought back, and must not be left to die in front of some other person's house. If no animal comes after long waiting, shooting the flour man or a whirlwind can also be effective.

783 777 Expelling Bad Luck--When the Ch'iang of Li-fan have bad luck and do not know what to do, they invite a tuan-kung to perform magic for them so as to expel the bad luck. This method is called "pil-wara" in the Ch'iang language. It begins with the host preparing two pints of buckwheat flour. The tuan-kung first mixes the flour with water to make various images of gods, which are kept at home; he then makes five mountains with flour and three double-leaf flags with paper. He takes the host's hat, a belt and a sun cake, and puts them into a basket. /21/ Besides, he also takes the host's accounting book, farming tools, and other important things, and with his helpers, moves them several miles away from the house. Finding a proper place where he can see mountains and streams, the tuan-kung sits cross-legged on the ground. He takes the flour mountains out of the basket and arranges them in a row on a paper. Then he builds a fire, burning pine branches. He now starts his magic performance, chanting liturgies, beating the drum, ringing the bell, inviting his old Master, calling the names of the gods of the five mountains, and reading aloud the host's age, name, and misfortunes. If the magic is effective, the weather will change at this moment, -- the wind may blow or a rain may fall. The tuan-kung watches the paper on which the five flour mountains are placed to see what (besides living things) has fallen on it. No matter whether it be an

783 inanimate fallen leaf or some dust gathering there, he takes it,
777 wraps it up, and puts it into the host's hat. He also picks some stones or mud from that place to fill up the host's belt. Beating the drum, the tuan-kung returns home. As he reaches the door, the host purposely closes it and refuses to let him in. The tuan-kung will ask, "I am the richest and most honored. Now I have come. Why don't you open the door?" Inside the house, an eloquent person, who is called pil-kuai-tchuai, has been chosen and he will converse with the tuan-kung through a hole in the door. He will ask, "The host is in need of a certain thing. Have you brought that with you?" The tuan-kung will answer, "Yes, I have it here. Moreover, I have brought even better ones." Thus they ask and answer dozens of times. Each time when a certain thing is mentioned, it is handed in through the hole. At last, the tuan-kung will ask, "Have you finished?" The person inside will say, "Yes." Then the tuan-kung enters the door and, chanting liturgies, bows to all the gods inside the house. Later he burns a pine branch before the altar of the Old Master. He takes out four wool threads. First, he has them smoked over the burning pine branches; then he rings the host's neck with three threads, which means that, from now on, the host will be no longer at a loss to make up his mind. The remaining thread is bound on the host's left wrist, which means that, from now on, the host's limbs will be steady and will not fumble. When the service is done, relatives and neighbors will send gifts to congratulate the host who will entertain them with the gifts. For three days, the host will not spend anything of his own. (Everything comes in and nothing goes out.) And the tuan-kung stays three days with him.

Things like difficulties in breeding pigs, trouble in raising chickens, poor taste of the home-brewed wine, poor flavor of the preserved vegetable, fallen ears of grains, and frequent robbery and burglary are regarded as the bad luck of women. The tuan-kung can also be invited to expel such bad luck. In the Ch'iang language this is called i-dé-wara. (I-dé means the food in storage under women's care; wara means calling.) The rites are the same as for men, only that the tuan-kung will not go up to the mountain to perform the rites but stay in the farm. On his return, he delivers things to the store-room. Women often object to the performance of such rites because they consider it a disgrace to them. (6) /The number.

6. Various relationships between women and agriculture can be seen from this rite. We will analyze it later when we discuss the social system of the Ch'iang.

783 777 is missing in the text. I presume this is the appropriate place for Note 6. --translator's note./

Exorcism and Fecundity Rites-- These two rites are held continuously. The term "fecundity rites" is not current in Chinese usage, and is adapted by this writer from the French term "Les rites de fécondité." For example, in India the Farming Festival during the spring 783 (7) is a fecundity rite of the agricultural people. The Intichiuma in

7. See Briffault, Sex in Religion.

Australia is a fecundity rite of the hunting tribes. (8) The Ch'iang

8. See R. Kréglinger, L'evolution religieuse de l'humanité, 1926, p. 59-60.

have a similar rite, which is called yu-si (redeeming the chicken's vow) in the Ch'iang language. It is held once every three years. The major part of the ceremony of redeeming the chicken's vow is also the ceremony of private sacrifice to the White Stone God in every family. As to the rites of exorcism, they are regarded as a preparation for the ceremony of redeeming the chicken's vow, that is, before the ceremony starts, the house must first be cleaned and unlucky things in the family removed. This rite which the Ch'iang call yu-li bu-de, also has its basis in theology. (9)

9. This kind of rite is called "Les rites preliminaires." (See R. Bastide, Elements de sociologie religieuse, Collection Armond Colin, pp. 85-90.)

These two ceremonies are both conducted by the tuan-kung. Exorcism is held any day after the 15th day of the eighth month. On that day the tuan-kung prepares a sheet of white paper, several sheets of five-colored paper, and a pint of buckwheat. He also makes a big piece of bread, binds a bunch of grass (representing the ancestral ghosts capable of making trouble), carves a piece of wood, and puts all of them on the food. While the tuan-kung is chanting liturgies, the host fries the buckwheat, kills a sheep, spreads its blood on the bunch of grass, /22/ cooks the mutton on the stove and invites his relatives to come to eat and drink with him. Having finished his chanting, the tuan-kung, carrying a drum, goes up the roof. He is followed by his clansmen, each carrying a weapon (rifle, gun, stone, thorn stick, etc.) The tuan-kung burns pine branches before the White Stone God and chants exorcising liturgies called mä-nä. At

783 the end of each passage of the liturgies, he shoots once with the gun. Having finished chanting, he dances down the roof. All the people strike aimlessly with their weapons and yell as they come down the roof. When the tuan-kung passes by the cattle ranch, he chants the ranch code (dǎ-ti). Then beating the drum and ringing the bell, he reaches the cremation ground. He piles together the bunch of grass stained with the sheep's blood, the piece of wood and the fried buckwheat, and burns them. He cuts one half of the bread and scatters it in different places to feed hungry ghosts. Returning home, everyone washes his hands with clean water before the door. The tuan-kung pacifies all the gods (All the Ch'iang gods must be invited) and begins to drink. He orders that from now on, unclean persons (those include the mourning sons, persons who have a child died or born recently in their families, etc.) will not be allowed to go up the roof and he fixes the date for redeeming the chicken's vow.

One day before the date for redeeming the vow, the tuan-kung comes to the house of the host to select a chicken for sacrifice and has paper, bamboo, fir wood and so on ready. In the afternoon, he climbs up the roof to plant the fir wood, sets up a sacred table, arranges the offerings, and puts four cups in front of the table. One cup is for worshiping the monkey-headed Old Master. Of the remaining three, one filled with sheep's dung represents cattle-raising; one filled with dust from eaves represents an old house; and one filled with clean water represents cleanness. As the tuan-kung is beating the drum and chanting the liturgies, one man shakes eze-ge ra and, in turn, overturns the clean water, the eave dust, the sheep's dung, the meat, and the bread. When he is overturning the meat and the bread, the people present all throw out the grains they have been holding in their hands. Then they divide the bread among themselves and eat it. After eating, they follow the tuan-kung and take a young female sheep up to the roof. The tuan-kung burns pine branches before the White Stone God and chants liturgies. Then, using a burning pine branch, he burns part of the wool off the sheep's head, tail, and back. After that, the tuan-kung prays, "From now on men will prosper and so will cattle. One produces ten and ten a hundred." The sheep is renamed hitu-tze-mu. And then both men and sheep come down from the roof. When they get outdoors, the tuan-kung, beating the drum and chanting the liturgies, cuts the skin of a sheep's ear and spreads the blood on a prepared bunch of grass and flags. He plants the flags on both sides of the door; the bunch of grass is also planted beside the door. The sheep is not to be killed, sold, or made a sacrifice, but to enjoy a natural

death. Having completed the ceremony and returned home, the tuan-kung washes his hands outdoors. Then he enters the house, sits beside the fireplace, and has his meal. After the meal, he begins 783
to make flags and cuts paper flowers. Flags are planted on a bushel. The monkey head and offerings are put in place. Chanting liturgies, the tuan-kung takes the flags and plants them in front of a straw mattress. He wraps the chicken's feather in paper and hangs it on the top of a flag; on the top of another flag, he also hangs the chicken's feather, the bow, arrows, and other things. Having done all these, the tuan-kung, chanting prayers, begins to offer sacrifice for redeeming the vow. All people gather and drink. Then they make offerings to the God of Wealth, the Sheep God, the Door God, and the ancestors. The chicken offered to the Door God can be killed and its blood is spread on the flag. The chicken offered to the God of Wealth and the Sheep God must be crushed to death. Before dawn, the host carrying the chickens, incense, candles, etc., follows the tuan-kung as he dances from the fireplace up to the roof. Up on the roof, first a gun-shot is fired. Then the host strangles the chickens. After finishing his chanting of prayers, the tuan-kung gets ready the offerings to the White Stone God, hangs a flag on a piece of fir wood, and pastes the chicken feathers on the wood. After three days, the wood is moved and planted on a good farm. The chicken feathers used in the sacrifice are thrown on the farm.

The above-mentioned practice has probably had a long history. 539
The Ch'iang have an old folk song as follows:

"The Ch'iang people worship god, and to make the sheep and
chicken vows, they hire a tuan-kung:
The sheep vow to clean the house, the chicken vow to clean
the house and the cattle ranch.
As dirt is cleaned out, all is purified and the water is clean:
The God of Heaven, the God of Earth, come all to enjoy!"

/23/ Divination-- The Ch'iang practice divination with sheep's 787
thigh-bone, egg, or white dog. First, the sheep's thigh-bone divination:

Foretelling with the sheep's thigh-bone is called tchi-pï-sze in the Ch'iang language. Very few tuan-kung know the method of divination. Nowadays only the tuan-kung around P'u-ch'i-kou in Li-fan can still teach it. However, only one out of four or five disciples may have the opportunity to be instructed. All the magic words will not be taught even to the most reliable disciple until he holds his

787 teacher-honoring ceremony. The sheep's thigh-bone used in divination must come from the sheep sacrificed to the Sacred Forest in the tuan-kung's own territory or from the sheep privately sacrificed to the White Stone God by his fellow clansmen. There is a definite time to take the bone. The proper time is after the sheep has been used as a sacrifice but before it is put into a pot to cook. After the thigh-bone is taken out, it is then wrapped up and carried away by the tuan-kung to be placed beside his god. The mutton is then cooked to treat guests for the sake of publicity.

The sheep's thigh-bone can be used to divine the cause of a disease, to predict fortunes, or to reveal a traveler's well-being and whereabouts. The one who requests divination holds a bunch of oats in his hand. If it is for discovering the cause of a disease, the patient is asked to blow at the oats. (If it is for a traveler, one of his parents is to do the blowing on his behalf.) He burns pine branches before the God of Fire. After praying, he goes to the home of the tuan-kung and explains to the tuan-kung the purpose of his visit. Having received the visitor, the tuan-kung first burns pine branches before his god. Then he asks his client to put his oats on the pine-branches and burn them. Murmuring prayers, the tuan-kung takes a wormwood leaf (be-ru), nips it into small pieces, and burns them on the sheep's thigh-bone. The number of the wormwood pieces is fixed at three, five, seven, or nine. After they are burned into lines and marks, the tuan-kung investigates the pattern and he will learn from it the cause of the disease as well as fortunes or misfortunes in the future. He can also decide immediately whether or not treatment or supplication is needed.

Divination with egg is called, in the Ch'iang language, yue-te-tzee-tie (opening the egg and see). This method is also performed by the tuan-kung to discover the cause of diseases. The patient first takes a raw egg, blows on it once, and puts it into his pocket for a while. Later, he boils it and blows on it once more. Then he states his birth time and says, "My disease will show in the egg." (If the patient is seriously ill and has to delegate someone to do it on his behalf, his delegate will speak in his own words.) Next, the egg is buried in ashes before the Fire God. After a while, it is taken out and sent to the tuan-kung, to whom the patient's condition and birth time are described. Chanting prayers, the tuan-kung takes a bowl of clean water and with three fingers, puts the egg into water. He turns the egg and watches its movement to get a general idea of the cause of the disease. Then he takes out the egg, shells it, and using

a long hair, cuts it open. By the color and shape of the egg and the amount of water in it, the cause of the disease is determined. The tuan-kung also decides how to cure the disease. 787

Divination with wool threads-- This method has nothing to do with the tuan-kung. It is done by another kind of sorcerer called tzēē-pa-me-rū (old diviner). He has another set of witchcraft and magic words. The most important instruments are wool threads and a leather bag. The wool threads are made of lamb's wool, more than a foot long, eighty-eight in all and tied together in a bundle. Hanging under them are strips of colored cloth called be-lee-getu. The leather of the leather bag, ki-tso-wa, must be taken from the skin of the cow used in the rites of redeeming a vow. It was even stricter in old days when it had to come from Pai-k'ung-ke, the holy land of the Ch'iang. After the death of the cow used as a sacrifice to the God of Liberation in the rites of redeeming a vow, its skin is used for making a leather bag into which many things are put: grains, animal teeth and bones, carved farming tools of the Ch'iang, broken pieces of bowls, bracelets, woodcuts, wood ruler, woman's thread board, etc., each of which has a special name. Both diseases and fortunes can be divined. There is no definite time for people who ask about their diseases. The preliminary steps in this kind of divination are the same as those in the sheep's thigh-bone divination. But there is a definite time for fortune-telling. Usually it is done between the middle of the first month and the second month, and often for the whole family. Therefore, they used to invite the old diviner to their homes to do it. At the beginning, he chants loudly his magic words on the stove and displays his gods (White Stone God, Fortress God, /24/ bronze Tibetan buddha, etc.). Having set up a sacred table and having honored the gods with wine, he pours the miscellaneous articles from his leather bag into a sieve. Making knots with wool threads, he keeps on murmuring magic words. Then he unties the knots and examines the shape of the wool threads. Afterwards, he studies the relative positions of the miscellaneous articles piling upon one another or lying side by side in the sieve in order to determine the fortune or misfortune.

Hanging a White Dog to Foretell Harvest-- At Jen-ts'un in Yun-tseng-kou, along the eastern route of Mao-hsien, the custom of hanging a white dog to foretell harvest is still preserved. It is held every year during the first ten days of the first month. This is originally a part of the festival at the Tu-hsiung Temple in memory of the tribal hero of the Ch'iang in eastern Mao-hsien. People often use their

787 earnings from the festival to buy a white dog and go to the Tu-hsiung Temple at Jen-ts'un to hold a dog-hanging meeting. The dog is hanged upside down on a branch of a tree in front of the temple. Food is placed below the dog's head but the dog cannot reach it because of the distance. The dog is left to die like that. If it does not die after seven days, a rich harvest is predicted, otherwise, a poor crop.

Special Programs in the Ch'iang Capping Ceremony and Funeral Ceremony--Practices concerning the Ch'iang capping and funeral ceremonies are very complicated. However, analysis shows that they include probably only two kinds of material: one is the material related to social systems and another to religious beliefs. I will mention here only a few important points in the programs of the capping and funeral ceremonies that have religious significance. This may help us understand more clearly the entire Ch'iang beliefs.

885 Capping ceremony (or adulthood ceremony) is called ye-boo-dei-sawoo in the Ch'iang language. This is a large-scale celebration. A tuan-kung is invited as early as the eighth month to cleanse the house and expel misfortunes so as to prepare for the capping ceremony which is to be held in the tenth month or as late as the twelfth month. The length of time from beginning to end is not shorter than the capping ceremony of the Australian aborigines. When the time for the ceremony comes, there are other complicated preparations to make. All sacrifices have to go through purification. We have no time to describe those details here, but one important program of the ceremony must be described. With his relatives sitting around a fire, the one to be capped always wears new clothes. A tuan-kung kneels and holds in his hand a fir stick, on the top of which is a paper image of the ancestor of mankind. The one to be capped kneels before the ancestor of mankind as another tuan-kung, holding some mo-ngi (white he-goat wool threads strung with stripes of colored cloth) which represent gifts from the ancestor of mankind, circles it around his neck. Then, the tuan-kung all kneel down and pray, saying briefly, "Since the very beginning of the earth, there has been the ancestor who created all things and men. Although his age is unknown, he is forever existing like the big fir trees on the rock beyond the reach of axes. His descendants should also receive his protection and live as long as heaven and earth, the sun and the moon, and enjoy good fortune, longevity, and peace...

After the praying, gifts of the ancestor are distributed among the children of all the relatives present, regardless of sex, each receiving a gift. All are happy and the capping ceremony then begins. On the one hand, the clan chief tells the history of their ancestors. On the

other, the tuan-kung chants liturgies as he sacrifices to all the gods in the house. In the sacrifice to the Sheep God, there is a special program. A chicken and a living she-goat are used during the sacrifice to the Sheep God. The tuan-kung must regard the sheep as a person and giving it a portion of the ancestor's gifts, wishes it prolific in production. After the sacrifice, the sheep must be fed until its natural death and must not be killed or sold. Special food (dry cabbage) is used to feed the sheep which is called "Sacred Sheep," or hitu-tzé-sawoo. Among other programs, the sacrifice to the God of Granary must be given by the mother of the youth to be capped. In the sacrifice to the White Stone God on the roof, the heart of the white sheep must be taken out and the black sheep must be killed. These all have their specific meanings which will be discussed in the conclusion.

The funeral ceremony of the Ch'iang is also very complicated. We will discuss here only one of its most characteristic scenes. After the death of a Ch'iang tribesman, a goat is often killed /25/ to guide the dead man. It is called la-par-sar-ma-tchi, or the guiding goat. The man who kills the goat must be a senior of the deceased. If the deceased is a male, a he-goat will be killed; if a female, a she-goat. The place for killing the goat is right in front of the corpse. At that moment, a prayer must first be said: "The goat is guiding you. What disease you died of will be shown on the body of the goat." After the prayer, the goat is killed. The first gush of blood is received in a bowl. Wheat straws are dipped into the blood. The goat's blood is spread on the palm of the corpse (left hand for male and right hand for female) to let the deceased know that the goat will act as his guide. Then the body of the goat is dissected to discover the cause of his death. The disease found in the goat signifies a corresponding disease in the man that causes his death. After the disease is confirmed, relatives begin to cry sorrowfully and regret that they have not known its cause earlier and have not given him the right treatment. The relatives are not allowed to eat the mutton of this goat.

Although this scene is quite strange, it is not unique. Among the Tchuktchi tribe in Siberia, who practices funeral by exposure (discard), the corpse is cut open in the shape of a cross before the funeral to examine the cause of its death. If cremation is adopted, the corpse does not have to be cut open but the throat must be cut. (10) The Azande (or niam-niam) people in Africa believe that if a

764

10. Montandon, Traite d'éthnologie culturelle, p. 142.

person's death is caused by the attack of an evil spirit, the source of his disease can be found by dissecting and examining the corpse (11)

11. Levy-Brühl, Le surnaturel et la nature dans la mentalité primitive, p. 184.

Anthropologists call this practice "autopsia." Some other places in Africa, such as Libreville, Pahonius and Ngounie, have similar practices. (12) These tribes, however, directly dissect the corpse while

12. "Un enterrement chez les Ishagos," p. 138-9 (Bulletin de la société de recherches Congolaise, No. 8, 1928.)

the Ch'iang substitute the goat for the corpse. Whether the substitution of the goat for the corpse has a specific meaning or not will be discussed in the conclusion.

782

Praying for Rain-- The Ch'iang live in mountains where geographical environment is perilous and difficult. In ancient times a traveler once said, "It worries even birds to pass through them. How can men do it!" Farms are along both sides of the stream or on slopes. Farming under such circumstances, as we can imagine, relies heavily upon rainfall. A summer without rain often makes the harvest hopeless. So praying for rain becomes a very serious business. It would take too much space to describe the various legends and stories about the drought and the rites of praying for rain in all places. Here we will introduce to our readers only one or two programs related to religious beliefs. The Ch'iang custom of praying for rain along the Tsa-ku-nao River in Li-fan is most interesting. For instance, whenever they have a long period of dry weather, the Ch'iang at Hsing-shang-liu-chai, Tseng-t'ou-san-chai and Chu-erh-san-chai as well as those at Niu-shan, Lo-shan, Kan-ch'i, Wen-shan, Chia-shan, Jo-ta and Hsi-shan must go to search the mountains, which they call ho-mu-mo-gēē-sar-lir-rahge. The so-called "mountain search" is to prohibit the digging of medical herbs and the trapping of animals. The Ch'iang believe that the digging of angelica and other medical herbs destroys the treasure of the land and violates the law of regeneration. As to the prohibition of trapping animals, it is because the Fork God or horn-mo-tze (the God of Hunting symbolized by a fork) worshiped by hunters is a symbol of slaughter. He should be excluded during the days of difficulties so as to follow the will of Heaven. Once the order of "mountain searching" is published, each village will send several persons to

782 join in the search. If a man is found violating the prohibition, he will be beaten, according to the rules, until he is bleeding because they believe otherwise there will be no rain. This psychology is very similar to the psychology of the Australian aborigines. (13)

13. Besson, Le totémisme.

/26/ If, after searching the mountains, there is still no rain, a praying-for-rain organization of a larger scale will be formed. The people at Hsia-san-chai /three lower villages/ in Hsing-shang would ask the people at Shang-san-chai /three upper villages/ to pray for rain. The Shang-san-chai people would then send a delegation to the Ch'iang's Sheng-shan /Holy Mountain/ called be-ko-ga. (14)

14. This mountain is located at Shang-san-chai of Hsing-shang-liu-chai on the northern bank of the Tsa-ku-nao River. The place is very high and extremely cold even in summer. The valley casts forth clouds and fogs in the evening. The peaks of the mountains are above the clouds and fogs. Wandering and resting among them is like being a fairy. A temple has now been built to worship three holy stones, pai-ang-ang, pai-lan-lan, and pai-hsi-hsi.

There they would vow to the god and ask for permission to take a carved tablet to call together the people. This carved tablet is kept in a cave at San-chien-shan (the Ch'iang call it tchi-rŭ-ga), four li from the Holy Mountain. Having taken the carved tablet and returned to the Holy Mountain, they leave one half of the tally before the god (as a talisman) and take the other half down the mountain to be carried from village to village. Wherever the tablet goes, every family must send someone to participate in the reception. Otherwise, the family will not only be blamed by all but also punished. Participants are usually married women, and only in very few cases, men and boys. The number of people grows as they go from one village to another. (However, aside from the delegation, no one from Shang-san-chai in Hsing-shang participates.) Each village brings a jar of wine which is used for honoring the god. On arriving at the peak of the Holy Mountain, all bow to the god, complain about the horror of drought, burn incense, and honor the god with libation. The delegation of Shang-san-chai returns one half of the carved tablet, puts it together with the other half, and then says, "All people are here. The drought is true. You may enjoy the incense. You must make the people prosperous. Your talisman is here..." Then a newly

782 carved tablet is immediately made to be returned to the cave and the old one is burned before the god. At this moment, women are crying and complaining before the god, grumbling incessantly and discharging urine and fecal matter in front of the temple to show their grudge and resentment. When those who deliver the carved tablet to the cave return, the women start to sing some very obscene songs of praying for rain. (The words are recorded elsewhere.) Then they fill their wine jars with clean water and carry them back. Singing all the way, they do not stop singing until they reach Na-wa-chai. When they pass by Shang-san-chai, people there ask the praying-for-rain group to drink wine. But they do not stop and proceed to return to their own villages. Pouring the water from the jars before yei-bo, the local god, they think in this way they will get rain from the sky.

• • • • •

Praying-for-rain Song

782 The Ch'iang have several praying-for-rain songs, one of which
539 is as follows:

Man's _____ often looks for woman's_____ very hungry, very thirsty!
Playing_____, ku-ku-ku; playing_____ku-ku-ku;
Well, clouds are gathering!
Well, clouds and rains have all come!

782 All women participating in the praying for rain are married. Therefore, they can sing songs like this. In other songs, women may describe how they had intercourse with their husbands the previous night. However, we have never heard of any promiscuity among the Ch'iang during the praying for rain. This is different from the farming festival in India, but similar to the Dutch and German farmers who may have sexual contacts in the field during the sowing season.

/27/ Words and music in the Ch'iang song. (see following page).

782 While singing the praying-for-rain songs, singers, regardless of
533 the number, are divided into two groups. The first group sings one passage and the second group must repeat it. For instance, the first two lines of the song on the following page must be repeated by the

7: Hu--34 E-5 (1937) 1941 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Ch'iang

533

Words and music in the Ch'iang song.

782 two groups five or six times, and then they proceed to sing the follow-
533 ing two verses which again are repeated twice. Before they start to sing, each group must cheer loudly three times to call for rain, and the fourth cheer is the response that promises the coming of rain.

Conclusion

771 In the preceding pages, we have made a preliminary survey of the
774 beliefs and practices of the Ch'iang people. Although our subject includes both, practices are actually the expression of beliefs in practical life. How the Ch'iang worship and believe in ghosts and gods, how they are afraid of the evil influences of the ghosts and gods, and how they rely upon the power of the sorcerers and the function of sorcery, all these can be seen from their practices. The religion of the culturally advanced races is often an imaginative and philosophical affair that attempts to answer the last question in life and the universe. The beliefs of the primitive people have nothing to do with it. They are only problems related to daily or practical life. (15) The sorcerer does

15. Briffault, Sex in Religion.

not study theology. He is only an expert in solving practical problems. Therefore, analyzing the practices of the people is the only way to understand the primitive beliefs.

In the first section, we have mentioned animism and fetishism, and regard the Ch'iang beliefs as remaining at the stage of animism and fetishism. /28/ The names of Ti and Ch'iang were known as early as during the Yin-Shang period. We may doubt that a people of such a long history could remain in such a primitive stage. However, cases like this are not very rare in ethnology. Haven't the Eskimoes of the Arctic region in America, the Australian aborigines, and even the most backward Bushmen of southern Africa had a long history? Here we see that the length of history and the progress, or the lack of progress, in culture are two different things. Moreover, the existence of the Ch'iang animism and fetishism is a fact which is recognized by all observers who do not wear colored glasses. However, animism and fetishism are special terms in science. How they coincide with the belief in ghosts and gods requires a brief explanation. E.B. Tylor of Great Britain says that animism is a belief in ghosts and gods. (16)

16. Tylor, E.B., Primitive Culture, 5th ed., Murray, London, 1913, Vol. I, p. 424.

771 774 This statement is right to the point. But the nature of ghosts and gods is quite complicated. Deniker says that the so-called animism recognizes not only that a human being has a soul that can temporarily leave his body, but also that all animals, plants, minerals, and even artificial man-made products consist of two elements, the material and the spiritual. Things like dream, shadow, and imagination further strengthen the primitive people's belief in the existence of ghosts and gods. Furthermore they believe that ghosts and gods can be divided into the good and bad ones, and that sometimes they give blessing and other times trouble. (17) The variety and nature

17. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre, p. 269, 272.

of the gods worshiped by the Ch'iang, as discussed above, coincides exactly with Deniker's statement. There is no doubt that the Ch'iang beliefs belong to animism.

Souls do not necessarily have shapes, but all objects have souls. Therefore, it appears that to worship the soul is to worship the object. And so Deniker regards fetishism as a kind of animism. S. Reinarch says, "The object inhabited by a spirit or soul is a fetish. In the early period of the Roman Empire, there was fetishism but no idol. The earliest God of War is represented by a spear and the God of Heaven a piece of flint." (18) In the same way the Ch'iang use

18. Oeuvres, pp. 143-4.

white stones to represent the various gods, a leather bag to represent the Poison King, and a fork to represent the Hunting God. The Ch'iang have no idolatry. Although there are now some temples with idols, yet this is the result of the Chinese influence. For instance, on the top of the Holy Mountain, "pai-k'ung-ke," at Hsing-shang-chai there were originally only three holy stones. But now there is a sculptured image of god behind the three holy stones. Some Chinese monks also live in the temple. Another example is that the Ch'iang at P'u-ch'i-shih-chai even give up their old tradition of redeeming vows in the Sacred Forest and instead they come to redeem vows at the Sinicized Chiu-lung Temple where there are images of gods like the Mountain King, the Cow King, the Ancestor of River, and the Mother of Earth, but no longer any white stone.

771 791 We have mentioned above that the tuan-kung is a Ch'iang sorcerer. This is a Chinese term whereas in the Ch'iang language the tuan-kung is called pi. There is no question about the fact that

771
791 the tuan-kung is a sorcerer. However, there are several kinds of sorcerers. The ancient Slavic people called those in charge of sacrifice to the deity priests and those practicing incantation and witchcraft magicians. (19) However, the tuan-kung of the Ch'iang possesses

19. Ibid. p. 260.

the double personality of priest and magician. He is the one who offers sacrifice to gods; he is also the one who exorcises devils and evil spirits. This kind of person has the same status as the Shaman who is prevalent among the peoples in the Frigid and the Sub-frigid Zones of eastern Asia. Montandon says that the Shaman is both priest and sorcerer. (20) Shirokogoroff says that in the language of the

20. Montandon, Traite d'éthnologie culturelle, p. 145.

Tungus, the word "Shaman" means the man or woman who can control ghosts and gods. He is the one who can utilize ghosts and gods to help himself and can, particularly, help those patients under the attack of devils. He has a way to communicate with devils and gods. (21)

21. Shirokogoroff, Psychomental complex of the Tungus, p. 269.

Such being the case, /29/ Shaman is not only a priest and magician, but he also possesses the qualification of a medicine man. However, since he is a magician, he is also automatically a medicine man because to cure diseases by magic is a general method among the primitive people. In ancient China, there was also the saying: "Sorcerer P'eng practises medicine." (22) Evidently, during the period of

22. Lü-shih-ch'un-ch'iu /Lü's Annals/.

sorcery, the medicine men must have also been sorcerers. This is probably an invariable principle. The Ch'iang practices only add another evidence to this principle. As to the observation that the Shaman possesses the double personality of priest and magician, the question is which personality, from the point of view of religious history, precedes the other? On this point Deniker says that as society progresses, magicians must also become priests. However, it often happens that after the priest class is born, the original sorcery remains.

(23) According to Deniker's theory, both the Ch'iang tuan-kung 771

23. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre, pp.278-9. 791

and all the Shaman represent the last stage of sorcery and the first stage of priesthood.

In the aforesaid practices of the Ch'iang, we see that most of the magic rites performed by the Ch'iang tuan-kung is of the nature of imitative magic, which is based upon the mentality of the primitive people. Since the primitive people "regard similarity as reality," (24) Therefore they firmly believe in imitative magic and the

24. Ch. Blondel, La mentalite primitive, (Collection nouvelles culture).

effectiveness of incantation and gesture given by the magicians. All the practical activities of the primitive people often require the assistance of such magic as may be given to fishing, hunting and agriculture, to raising cattle, or to such human work as ship-building and house construction. (25) The Ch'iang rites of expelling

25. Thurnwald, Economics in Primitive Communities, p. 210.

bad luck are imitative magic extended to human work. They think, after such rites, the clumsy will become skillful and the poor rich. In the Ch'iang practice of praying for rain, the act of intercourse between the two sexes symbolizes clouds and rains in the sky, just like the agricultural festival in India which encourages promiscuity in the hope that the propagation behavior of human beings might influence the propagation of the grains in the field. The Bantus and the French Algerians in Africa, the Dayaks of northern British Bornea in Oceania, and the present Dutch and German farmers all have similar practices. The Ch'iang's killing white chickens and white dogs to pray for fine weather, their searching the mountains to pray for rain, the substitution of goats to die for men, as well as the tuan-kung's breaking a blade of grass to kill a person, all these practices also seek responsive influences through affinitive behaviors. They belong naturally to imitative magic.

The most important act in the Ch'iang rites of fecundity is the sprinkling of blood. The meaning of blood-spreading, according to the recent study by W. Schmidt, an Austrian anthropologist of the 771

771 geo-historical school, is that: "Blood is the source of vitality. Therefore, during the magic rites of fecundity, blood is used as a symbol. From killing an animal to take out its heart to hunting human heads for sacrifice, all such practices are customs produced from this fundamental concept." (26) As to killing an animal by taking out its

26. W. Schmidt, Origin et l'évolution de la religion, p. 353.

heart, the white sheep, used by the Ch'iang in the capping ceremony at the sacrifice to the White Stone God on the roof top, receives exactly this king of heart operation. Besides, the yak used by the Ch'iang in the rites of redeeming vows before the White Stone God at the "pei-k'ung-ke" Holy Mountain must also have its heart taken out without being allowed to be killed by any other ordinary method. Although the Ch'iang nowadays do not have the custom of sacrificing human beings, still we can find it in history in the legends of Lin-chün concerning the barbarians in Pa-chün and Nan-chün. It is further evidenced by the facts that in ancient India human beings were used as sacrifice in spring and fall services and that the K'a-wa tribesmen on the Yunnan-Burma borders hunt human heads in order to protect farms, so it is beyond doubt that there is a relationship between bleeding and the rites of agricultural fecundity. Apart from this, the Poison Devil of the Ch'iang can transmit poison by eye, which is called "evil eye" in anthropology. This is an example of wish-magic. (27).

27. Kirkpatrick, Religion in Human Affairs, p. 131.

In the Ch'iang legends and practices, there are still many programs which contain special meanings. To explain them, it seems necessary to refer to the principles of totemism. Some Chinese scholars who have made studies of the Ch'iang tribesmen have mentioned that the Ch'iang have totemism. But they have merely pointed out the fact that the Ch'iang name their tribes after animals, without developing it further. /30/ There is indeed no way to develop it if we rely only upon the material available in history books. Based upon the material gathered from my investigation, I would like to interpret totemism as follows:

Generally speaking, a totemic people, whenever they come across an important occasion in life such as capping, wedding, or funeral, often hold a totemic identification rite or a rite imitating totem. (28)

28. Besson, Le totémisme.

This identification rite is an extremely important point in totemism, (29) Facts concerning this are quite abundant in the Ch'iang culture. 791

29. Besson, the French writer, says that a group of totemistic tribesmen gather together because of the belief that their ancestors came from a common totem. But, actually, totemism contains less sense of blood relationship than group relationship. The tottoos of Australian aborigines all imitate totemic animals. The American Indians do the same thing. The tortoise tribesmen of the Omahas cut their hair in the shape of a tortoise. When marrying, they rub the bodies of the bride and bridegroom with the skin of the totemic animal. In ancient Greece, during the bear service, all women in Athens wore bear-skin and called themselves female bears. Durkheim also says that the basic principle of totemism is consubstantiality.

In legends about their origin, the god of the Ch'iang revealed to them in a dream the way to defeat the Ko people by advising them to hang wool threads around their necks as marks when they met the Ko in the battlefield. When the battle was joined, the Ch'iang did as they were told and thus defeated the Ko to earn a position of "the survival of the fittest." The Ch'iang consider this war as a turning point in their regeneration. Even now, whenever they hold an important ceremony, they must tell this glorious history. In sacrifices to the gods, and in redeeming their vows, the tuan-kung would also read this history which is called bi-gu-ngew in the Ch'iang language. Before they defeated the Ko, the Ch'iang called themselves "dze-gai-be", meaning "people". After they defeated the Ko, they started to call themselves "rmee" (This is the dialect of the Hei-shui valley west of Mao-hsien. In the dialect of the Tsa-ku-nao-ho valley in Li-fan, it is pronounced as rmà.) The Ch'iang said that the Ko were an inhumane and beastlike race but the 'rmee' were shepherds who, more civilized than the Ko, were capable of speech, farming, and raising cattle, and who knew esprit de corps. The Ch'iang, being shepherds (30),

30. Tung Tso-pin says: "The word 'ch'iang' comes from the words 'sheep' and 'man', meaning therefore a shepherd. (Sometimes the Ch'iang carry strings, indicating the

771

carrying of sheep.) The words 'ch'iang' and 'yang' (sheep) have a similar sound and are interchangeable."

called themselves "rmee". The best transliteration is, of course, the word 羋 (pronounced mi, meaning the bleating of sheep). To hang wool threads around the neck is to imitate the appearance of a sheep. This is a behavior produced by the principle of totemic identification. After they had defeated their enemies, these "shepherds," recalling their debt of gratitude to their totem, and wishing to identify themsleves more closely with it, went further to imitate the voice of the animal, calling themselves "rmee." This is probably the reason why the Ch'iang changed the name of their tribe. Strellow, an authority on the ethnology of Australian peoples, says that among the customs of the Australian tribes, there is, it can be said, not a single kind of rites which does not imitate the shape or the voice of some totemic animal. (31) With this as a related evidence, the theory that the

31. "Die Arunda und Loritja stämme in Central-Australian," 1908, quoted from Besson, Le totémisme.

"shepherds" called themselves "rmee" cannot be regarded as mere imagination.

The above-mentioned facts are derived from the Ch'iang legends. Nobody can deny the value of legends in anthropology. As for the Ch'iang and their totemic identification rites, there is, however, evidence of facts which can still be seen today and which are more dependable than legends. In the aforesaid Ch'iang practice of expelling bad luck and capping ceremony, there is the identification rite of circling the neck with wool threads. The act in the ceremony of expelling bad luck is very simple. But in the capping ceremony, there are additional programs which are to be noted. For instance, the act of the one to be capped kneeling before the image of the fir stick ancestor is similar to the embracing of the nurtunja (holy stick) in the adulthood ceremony of the Australian totemic tribes. This is also regarded in Australia as the hiding place of the ancestral soul. According to legends, every tent occupied by their ancestors erected a nurtunja on the top of which was a waninga (holy rod). Besides, there is a special program in the Ch'iang capping ceremony. In sacrificing to the Sheep God, the tuan-kung wraps wool threads around a living sheep that is not allowed to be killed. The wool threads represent gifts from ancestors. The fact that sheep and men are

equally qualified to receive such gifts shows obviously that sheep and men are equal and both totemic animals and men are descendants of totemic ancestors. A concept like this exists only in a totemistic society. 771

In funeral, the Ch'iang have the custom of autopsia. However, they do not directly cut and examine the corpse of the deceased but use a sheep as substitute. /31/ This practice can also be explained by the principle of totemism. In accordance with the principle of identification, men and sheep are equal. Therefore, what happens in the human body naturally will also show in the body of the sheep. So, in order to find out the cause of illness, we do not have to directly anatomize the human body and instead can discover it by examining the sheep's body. Moreover, the anatomized sheep serves as a guide to the deceased and is called the "Guiding Sheep." This also has totemic significance. The Omahas in America use the buffalo as a totem. After a man's death, his corpse is wrapped in buffalo skin, and an image of the buffalo is painted on the back of his head. Then the sorcerer prays: "Since you came from the animal world, please return to the animal world! Go straight ahead and do not come back!" (32) That the Ch'iang use sheep as guide probably contains also the

32. See Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy, I. p. 35, quoted by Vinogradoff, Historical Jurisprudence, Vol. I., p. 205.

meaning of "coming from the animal world and returning to the animal world." That the relatives are not allowed to eat the mutton of this sheep has also a totemic significance.

To interpret a part of the Ch'iang practice by totemistic principle, of course, can only be regarded as an experiment. We know that totemistic principles should not be applied lightly and loosely, especially after the criticism by Goldenweiser and Lowie, American scholars of the cultural school. However, the repeated facts in the Ch'iang culture compel us to make such an experiment, although we cannot thus assert that the Ch'iang have passed through a stage of totemism, nor can we recognize that the Ch'iang are now practising totemism, for a complete totemistic system will require various other conditions. (33) Therefore, we believe that even if the Ch'iang have totemism,

33. Goldenweiser, A. A., Totemism, an Analytical Study, in the making of man, edited by Calverton.

771 it must be only an immature totemism. This is a common phenomenon among the tribal peoples in northern Asia. For instance, the Tazes among the Yakut people believe that unless a woman has sexual relation with a bear, she will not be pregnant; the Kirghiz consider themselves descendants of dogs, and the Bouriate call swans their ancestors. Likewise, the organization of the Altai tribes resembles that of the totemistic tribes. All these can only be regarded as immature totemism. The Ch'iang are one of the northern Asiatic races. Their culture naturally mingles with and fits into this cultural sphere. Moreover, not only the totemism in the Ch'iang culture fits into the pattern of the same cultural area, but also things like Shaman religion, bone divination, funeral rites, farming and pasturing, etc., are all in uniformity with this cultural area.

In view of the aforesaid, it seems that there is a logical relationship in the system of the Ch'iang beliefs. Fetishism comes from animism, while Shaman religion and animism are inseparably related with each other. As to the question whether or not totemism is in harmony with these beliefs, our answer is affirmative. We can prove by facts that in the totemistic areas people have, at the same time, sorcery and the belief in ghosts and gods. For example, the totemic system in central Australia is associated with the belief in ghosts and gods. Australian aborigines believe that the problem of the totemic affiliation of their children must be decided by the place where the ancestral ghosts enter mothers' wombs or where women discover their pregnancy. (34) As to the prevalence of sorcery and sorcerous medi-

34. "Notes on some native tribes of Australia," in the Journal and Proceedings of Royal Society of New South Wales, XL, 1906, quoted by Vinogradoff, Historical Jurisprudence, pp. 205-6.

cine in Australia, it is universally recognized by all investigators. From the standpoint of academic theories, Schmidt believes that sorcery of passive nature originated in the primitive matriarchic society and sorcery of active nature is the product of totemistic culture. (35)

35. W. Schmidt, op. cit.

Furthermore, although some anthropologists regard totemism as religion, (36) yet the recent trend generally considers totemism as a social

36. For example, E. Durkheim (see his Elementary Forms of Religious Life.) 771

system, not religion. (37) If totemism is not religion, then it can-

37. For instance, W. Schmidt, A. A. Goldenweiser, etc.

not be in conflict with animism and sorcery and its co-existence with the latter is possible.